

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00066 151347Z

51

ACTION AF-06

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INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0066

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, RH, UK, US

SUBJECT: ZAPU VIEWS ON RHODESIAN DEVELOPMENTS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

1. SUMMARY. LUSAKA-BASED ZAPU OFFICIAL HAS EXPRESSED TO US DISAPPOINTMENT WITH CALLAGHAN VISIT AND INDICATED CONTINUING SUSPICION THAT BRITISH WILL NOT CARRY OUT THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR RHODESIA. OFFICIAL SAID UK IS MAJOR PARTY TO DISPUTE AND NOT MEDIATOR BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE RHODESIANS. HE HOPED USG WOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE PRESS BRITISH TO ACT BEFORE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IS LOST. THESE VIEWS ON BRITISH ROLE DO NOT HARMONIZE WITH THOSE OF ZAMBIANS AND OTHER ANC SOURCES AND SUGGEST ANC IS STILL UNCOORDINATED ON SUBSTANCE AND PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS. END SUMMARY.

2. ZAPU DIRECTOR OF PUBLICITY GEORGE SILUNDIKA (WHO REPRESENTED ZAPU AT RECENT UNGA DISCUSSIONS ON RHODESIA QUESTION) TOLD
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00066 151347Z

US JAN 13 FROM VIEWPOINT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISTS CALLAGHAN

VISIT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA HAD BEEN DISTINCT DISAPPOINTMENT. HE QUESTIONED WHETHER BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT COULD GO AGAINST WHAT HE SEES AS STRONG BRITISH POPULAR SYMPATHIES TO PROTECT VESTED INTERESTS OF THEIR "KITH AND KIN" IN RHODESIA. CALLAGHAN STATEMENTS THUS FAR HAVE GIVEN SILUNDIKA NO CONFIDENCE THAT BRITISH WILL FOLLOW UP OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED BY KAUNDA-VORSTER INITIATIVES TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA WITHIN TIME FRAME ACCEPTABLE TO AFRICANS.

3. SILUNDIKA SAID UK CANNOT PLAY ROLE OF NEUTRAL ARBITRATOR BETWEEN ANC AND SMITH. UK RESPONSIBLE FOR RHODESIAN UDI AND THEREFORE FOR SMITH. AT CONFERENCE TABLE BRITISH MUST TAKE THEIR SEAT ALONGSIDE SMITH WHILE ANC REPRESENTS AFRICAN PEOPLES OF RHODESIA ON OTHER SIDE OF TABLE. SILUNDIKA SAW NO OBJECTION TO BRITISH PROVIDING CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN, BUT THIS COULD NOT BE USED BY UK AS DEVICE TO EVADE ITS RESPONSIBILITY, AS MAJOR PARTY IN DISPUTE, TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH AFRICANS. WHETHER SMITH CHOOSES TO BE PART OF BRITISH DELEGATION IS BRITISH, NOT AFRICAN, PROBLEM. IT ALSO BRITISH PROBLEM HOW TO IMPOSE ON SMITH AND RHODESIAN WHITE DIE-HARDS WHATEVER TERMS OF SETTLEMENT ARE REACHED AT CONFERENCE.

4. SILUNDIKA DISMISSED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE RHODESIANS AS IRRELEVANT TO ISSUE OF SETTLEMENT. KEY QUESTION IS TO SPELL OUT PROCESS BY WHICH BRITISH WILL SECURE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM COLONIAL REGIME TO GOVERNMENT POPULARLY ELECTED ON BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE. CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS COULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO END IN ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY SMITH WERE ABLE TO OBTAIN HMG'S LEGITIMATION OF WHITE MINORITY REGIME IN SALISBURY.

5. SILUNDIKA EXPRESSED HOPE USG WOULD "NOT CONTINUE TO STAND ON SIDELINES" OF RHODESIAN ISSUE BUT USE INFLUENCE TO PRESS UK TO CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN RHODESIA BEFORE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IS LOST. (ON OTHER HAND FROLIZI LEADER CHICKEREMA, NOW AN ANC REPRESENTATIVE IN ZAMBIA, HAS CATEGORICALLY TOLD US THAT THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO ROLE FOR USG IN RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT.) WE REMINDED SILUNDIKA THAT WE HAVE ALWAYS REGARDED BRITISH CROWN AS LAWFUL SOVEREIGN IN RHODESIA AND CONTINUE TO SUPPORT UK IN ITS PEACEFUL EFFORTS TO CARRY

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00066 151347Z

OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. SILUNDIKA WAS TOLD THAT WE WILL OF COURSE BE ENCOURAGING ALL PARTIES WITH WHOM WE ARE IN CONTACT TO PURSUE OBJECTIVE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. SILUNDIKA MADE NO MENTION OF USG URGING VORSTER TO USE HIS INFLUENCE WITH SMITH.

6. COMMENT: VIEWS EXPRESSED TO US BY SILUNDIKA HAVE ALSO BEEN PUBLISHED IN JAN 11 ISSUE OF ZAPU PUBLICATION ZIMBABWE REVIEW AND ARE PROBABLY REPRESENTATIVE OF THOSE OF ZAPU LEADERS IN

LUSAKA. WE ARE ENCOUNTERING CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES IN MAKING CONTACTS WITH ZANU ELEMENTS HERE AND ARE THEREFORE AT PRESENT UNABLE TO CONFIRM WHETHER THEY SHARE ZAPU VIEW OF BRITISH ROLE. LAST FALL ZANU WAS OPPOSED TO ANY ROLE FOR BRITISH AT RHODESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. SILUNDIKA'S COMMENTS CERTAINLY APPEAR TO BE AT VARIANCE WITH POSITION OF BISHOP MUZOREWA AS REFLECTED BY REMARKS OF HIS BROTHER (BLANTYRE 44) WHO ASSERTED BRITISH HAVE NO LEVERAGE WITH SMITH AND DOWNPLAYED IMPORTANCE OF BRITISH ROLE IN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. ZAMBIANS TOO, WHILE THEY SHARE SILUNDIKA'S DISAPPOINTMENT WITH CALLAGHAN VISIT, ARE NOT IN AGREEMENT WITH HIS ARGUMENT THAT CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS MUST LEAD IMMEDIATELY TO ELECTIONS ON PRINCIPLE OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE. ZAMBIANS ALSO TAKE MORE REALISTIC VIEW THAN DOES SILUNDIKA OF WHAT BRITISH ROLE IN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE SHOULD BE -- I.E., THAT UK SHOULD CALL AND PRESIDE OVER TALKS TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE RHODESIANS. SILUNDIKA REMARKS HAVE STRENGTHENED IMPRESSION THAT BLACK RHODESIANS ARE STILL CONSIDERABLE DISTANCE FROM HAVING COORDINATED POSITION AND THAT COMMUNICATION AMONG CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF ANC AND BETWEEN ANC LEADERS IN SALISBURY AND THEIR EXTERNAL COLLEAGUES IS FAR FROM ADEQUATE.

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